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CHAPTER XVIII.

PRIDE AND GREATNESS OF MIND.

THE Indians are proud but not vain; they consider vanity as degrading and unworthy the character of a man. The hunter never boasts of his skill or strength, nor the warrior of his prowess. It is not right, they say, that one should value himself too much for an action which another may perform as well as himself, and when a man extols his own deeds, it seems as if he doubted his own capability to do the like again when he pleased. Therefore, they prefer in all cases to let their actions speak for themselves. The skins and peltry which the hunter brings home, the deer's horns on the roof of his cabin, the horses, furniture and other property that he possesses, his apparel and that of his family, the visits with which he is honoured by the first and best men among his nation; all these things shew what he is and what he has done, and with this he rests satisfied.

So with the warrior; it is enough for him that he is known to be a man of spirit and courage by the scalps and prisoners that he brings home; he never is seen going about boasting of his warlike exploits, and when questioned on the subject, he makes his answer as short as possible. Even when he is entering a town with his prisoners and scalps, he does not stare about to see whether the people are looking at him, but walks his usual steady pace and marches straight forward without appearing to see any body. When at some of their particular festivals, every warrior is called upon to relate his feats of arms, they make it a point to be as brief as pos-

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261
266 ed a temporary relief, and that she might be able to support herself and her surviving children until a change in the weather should take place, so that they could be able to proceed on their journey; but the wolves getting the scent of the slaughtered child, became more furious than before, her danger every moment became more imminent. She now filled the air with her cries and supplications to the Great Spirit that he would look down with compassion on their awful condition, and save them by his almighty power.—But still the danger increased, the horrid food was almost exhausted, and no relief came. Already she contemplated sacrificing another child; she looked at each of them again and again with a mother's eye, now resolving on killing the one, then changing her mind, and endeavouring to determine on the destruction of the other; she hesitated, wept, despaired, and the children, well understanding what she meant, prayed that they might all die together. While in this situation, her hand already lifted to strike the fatal stroke, the yell of two approaching Indians strikes her ear, and the murderous weapon falls from her hand. The men with rackets to their feet now appear and the dreadful scene is at once closed. They had provisions with them. They made a pair of rackets for the woman to walk on, and brought her and her children along in safety to the Big Island, where my informants resided at the time. I cannot remember whether they told me that they had gone to that spot in consequence of a dream, or of some strong presentiment that they should find human creatures in distress; certain I am, however, that it was owing to one or other of these causes.

[461]

[103] The place where this awful event took place was since called *Enda Mohótink*, which means "where human flesh was eaten." This name has been very familiar to the Indians who resided in that part of the country.

156
184 There is a spot of land at the edge of the great Pine or Beech Swamp, precisely where it is crossed by the

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road leading to Wyoming, which is called *the Hermit's Field*, and of which the following account is given. A short time before the white people came into Pennsylvania, a woman from some cause or other had separated herself from society, and with her young son, had taken her abode in this swamp, where she remained undiscovered until the boy grew up to manhood, procuring a livelihood by the use of the bow and arrow, in killing deer, turkeys and other animals, planting corn and vegetables, and gathering and curing nuts and berries of various kinds. When after her long seclusion she again saw Indians, she was much astonished to find them dressed in European apparel. She had become so attached to her place of abode, that she again returned thither and remained there for several years. I was shewn by the Indians in the year 1765, and often afterwards, the corn hills that she had made; the ground, being a stiff clay, was not wasted or worn down, but was covered with bushes, and the traces of the labour of the female hermit were plainly discoverable.

Thus the Indians will support themselves in the midst of the greatest difficulties, never despairing of their fate, but trusting to their exertions, and to the protection of the Almighty Being who created them.

[erratum. See cat. 116, p. 348. - Analyst]

[P.36,A]

153 Throughout these and other instances there seems to be an association between the concepts of eating and aggression, and between the concepts of not eating (or of giving up food to another, or of relinquishing what has been eaten) and of being accepted, approved, and helped.

The Guardian Spirit

156 The Delaware could not support a sense of social disapproval or of disregard. The great importance attached by Europeans to conscience was among the Delawares replaced by an equal importance attached to "face." When self-esteem needed encouragement, the individual dreamed (or interpreted his dreams as meaning) that he was great. Zeisberger remarked, "They are proud and haughty, even a miserable Indian, capable in no respect, imagines himself to be a great lord. They hold themselves in high regard as if they were capable of great and wonderful things, in which respect they are much encouraged by dreams, held among them to be very significant and, indeed, it would appear that through dreams Satan holds the heathen bound and fettered and in close connection with himself, subjecting them in this fashion to delusion. All this the missionaries discover in those who come to church and who need be thoroughly humbled before they give up the vain imaginations concerning themselves."[31]

156 One of the main functions of the guardian spirit was to buttress the Delaware's opinion 776 of himself. "They believe," observed Zeisberger, "in numerous spirits or subordinate deities. Almost all animals and the elements are looked upon as spirits, one exceeding the other in dignity and power. There is scarcely an Indian who 156 does not believe that one or more of these spirits has not been particularly given him 787 to assist him and make him prosper. This, they claim, has been made known to them in a dream, even as their religious belief is alleged to have been made known to them in a dream. One has, in a dream,

31. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 18-19.

[P. 36, B]

156 received a serpent or a buffalo, another the sun or the moon, another an owl or some
787 other bird, another a fish, some even ridiculously insignificant creatures such as ants. These are considered their spirits or *Manittos*. If an Indian has no Manitto to be his friend he considers himself forsaken, has nothing upon which he may lean, has no hope of any assistance and is small in his own eyes. On the other hand those who have been thus favored possess a high
154 and proud spirit."[32] We shall have further occasion to remark how many institutions were mobilized to prevent such casual wounds to self-esteem. We shall also see how much aggression such blows to self-esteem could arouse. Heckewelder and
[762] Zeisberger both mention that suicide was a common way of expressing the enormous but disorganized hostility aroused by slights such as marital infidelity or public shaming.[33]

Absence of Authoritarianism

861 Zeisberger and Heckewelder agreed that Delaware parents avoided corporal punishment, scolding, threatening, or otherwise disciplining children. Growing boys were left pretty much to their own devices. Little homilies on moral values were addressed to them and the child's pride was appealed to in efforts to induce ap-
593 proved social behavior.[34] The father spent much of his time away from home in the employments of the chase (especially when
[462] the fur trade added to the importance of hunting); the mother was responsible for the fundamental subsistence activities. In general the male was peripheral, the female central in cultural role.[35] Delaware women
562 were described as being given to petty
[157] meanness, malicious gossip, and lying; but they were not "matriarchs" in the sense of being the recognized arbiters of the home or society. Their evidently enlarged spite-

32. Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 132-133.
33. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 258-260; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 83.
34. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 113-117; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 16, 81.
35. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 154-162; Zeisberger, 1778, p. 13-14.

[P. 38, A]

776
[796] crippling revenge.[44] Even animals, (for
[325] example, the bear) had to be conceptualized as quasi-human beings engaged in war with the Indians to legitimize their killing.[45]

Anticipation of Aggression

626 In view of these elaborate cultural devices for avoiding situations where
● 156 aggressions might come to the surface, either in one's own self or in others, we might expect to find considerable anxiety in everyone over the suspicion that through some slip he might have aroused the hostility of an unknown enemy, especially since in every person there seems to have been a large amount of diffused aggression which could easily be projected onto other
[754] people. The fear of witchcraft, for instance, was universal and demoralizing.[46] Lindestrom, described the Delawares as "mistrustful;"[47] and both Zeisberger and
[154] Heckewelder remarked on the elaborate institutions which functioned to deflect possible aggression.[48] Parents explained their reluctance to discipline children by
[861] saying that "the children might remember it against them and avenge themselves when they have attained to maturity."[49] (Zeisberger said that he knew of some cases where children *did* threaten to punish their parents for indignities suffered in childhood.)[50]

Techniques for Expressing Aggression

154 All these mechanisms indicate that the typical Delaware individual harbored within himself exceptionally uncomfortable aggressive impulses which he was afraid to focus on anyone for fear of counter-aggression. The eruption of these aggressions periodically shattered the equable facade of social behavior. "They are able to control their desires and passions," observed Zeisberger, "but once given free

44 Speck, 1931, pp. 39-44.
45 Wallace, 1949.
46 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 239-240.
47 Lindestrom, 1656, pp. 191-192.
48 Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 115-116.
49 Zeisberger, 1778, p. 61.
50 Ibid.

157

157 PERSONALITY TRAITS--occurrence of idiosyncratic habits (e.g., biting of lips or nails, twiddling of thumbs, wringing of hands); prevalence of co-operativeness and competitiveness; incidence and distribution of recurrent personality traits (e.g., leadership, submissiveness, aggressiveness); incidence and distribution of recognized types of personality (e.g., introvert, extrovert, obsessional, manic, paranoid, hypochondriac); generalized results of personality tests; indications of cultural selectivity with reference to personality traits and types; evidence bearing upon the existence of a modal or basic personality; etc. See also:

Mutual aid and competition 47
Social mobility 55
Derived drives and emotions 152
National character and ethos 161
Patterned expression of emotion 201
Attitudes 208
Postures 516
Humor 522
Statuses adapted to particular personality types 554
Social interaction rates 571
Types of religious experience 781
Ethnopsychology 828

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262 shot. The Indians never despair, not even in the worst
157 of times and under the severest trials; when placed
252 in difficult situations they never use discouraging language, but always endeavour to raise their spirits and prevent them from sinking, under the hardships or dangers to which they are exposed. True to this national character, one of our old Indians immediately pronounced this wild cat to be "good, very good eating," and it was immediately ordered to be put on the spit and roasted for our supper. While this was performing, the old Indian endeavoured to divert the company by extolling in a jocular manner the country they had now got into, and where such good things were to be had; to which some one or other of the old men would reply; "all very true." At length, about nine o'clock at night, the call was given by the old cook (for so I now call him) that the meat was done and we might come in to eat. I, who had heard so much in praise of this repast, being greatly pinched with hunger, had kept myself in readiness for this expected call; but seeing nobody rise, and observing much merriment through the camp, I began to suspect that something was the matter, and therefore kept my seat. The night was spent without any body attempting to eat of the wild cat, and in the morning a different call was given by one of the old men, signifying that a large kettle of tea had been made by some of the good women, who invited all to come and take their share of it. Every one obeyed, this call and I went with the rest, the jovial old cook taking the roasted wild cat with him to the mess. The scene was not only very diverting, but brought on an interesting discussion between the men on the propriety or impropriety of eating the flesh of all animals without restriction, some contending that they were all by the will of the great Creator ordained for some use, and therefore put in the power of man; and how were we to know which were intended for our nourishment and which not? The old cook had himself taken that posi-

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262 tion, adding that the hog and the bear fed on dirty things,
157 and yet we ate their meat with a good appetite. The cat, however, notwithstanding all the arguments in its favour, remained untouched, and was taken back by the old hunter and cook to its former place at his fire.

But now, Popunhank, whom we believed to be lost, and our guide, who once more had gone out, and exerted himself in vain to kill a deer, came in together. The guide had been desired as he pursued his hunt to look for our lost companion, and had the good luck to find him at the distance of five or six miles, with a fine deer that he had killed. He lost no time in bringing him back to our camp.

The sight of these two men dragging a large deer along was truly joyful to us, as well on account of the recovery of our lost friend, as of the meat that he brought. All felt the cravings of hunger, all were delighted with the certain prospect of immediate relief, yet no boisterous or extraordinary rejoicing took place, but all called out with one voice: *Anischi! Anischi!* we are thankful. The wild cat, which yet remained untouched, was thrown out of the camp, and dismissed by the old cook with these
261 words: "Go, cat, we do not want you this time!"

266 The woods and waters, at certain times and seasons,
[251] furnish to the Indians an abundant supply of wholesome nourishing food, which, if carefully gathered, cured and stored up, would serve them for the whole year, so that none need perish or even suffer from hunger; but they are not accustomed to laying in stores of provisions, except some Indian corn, dry beans and a few other articles. Hence they are sometimes reduced to great straits, and not seldom in absolute want of the necessaries of life, especially in the time of war. Yet, notwithstanding the numerous famines they have been visited with, they have among their traditions but one instance on record in which an human life was taken for the support of others, although they relate many cases

in carrying out his ceremonial duties. The process of preparation is long and arduous, a period during which the novice must observe carefully the ways of his elders. The youth is instructed to be prayerful and humble in spirit since it is believed that only through prayer and faith are great things accomplished. Humility is the keynote of Delaware behavior even among those men and women who have attained the experience of advanced age. If one has lived a clean, pure life and has been faithful to the doctrines of his tribal religion, he shall indeed be called great. Not of the pompous, boastful, type but a truly righteous man with full realization of the joys and blessings which come to those who are ever mindful of the Creator.

Some of the more spiritually inclined are known to have had more than one vision, as in the case of Wi·tapanóxwe whose first revelation came in his youth, the second later in life. If one has had several visions he usually is guided by the first but in any event he is free to choose according to his spiritual needs. After such a decision is made, however, the individual continues to adhere to the guardian selected throughout the remainder of his life.

Having lived according to the precepts of his native faith and achieved the age of mature experience, the informant was not averse to making known the spiritual power revealed to him during two dream visions. His recitation and song have been fully given in text in a preceding number of this series (Speck, 1931, pp. 128, 168). Now he is ready to take his place in the Big House Ceremonies and in the sweat lodge but prior to the recording of his vision, he still felt inexperienced and unworthy of appearing before his kinsmen in a ceremonial role.

The following is presented in the words of Wi·tapanóxwe and is self explanatory:

> It was while attending school at Chilocco, Oklahoma, I was taken sick with the black measles. The authorities were alarmed, thinking that it might be scarlet fever and more than a hundred of the pupils were removed to the local hospital and placed under quarantine. It was during that time that I had my trials and tribulations. The summer before, Mr. Wright, a noted evangelist of part Choctaw descent, had visited the school and held revivals. So many were converted that I too thought that I was fully converted and was persuaded to say that I had accepted Jesus Christ for my personal Savior. But now came the real test. I was one of thirty patients in a first floor ward and read the Scriptures constantly.

[P. 34, A].

155 Zeisberger.[3] Infants were described by
854 Lindestrom as never crying.[4] Whether this was because they were nursed whenever restless (which is most likely), or because the crying was consistently ignored in early infancy, is not clear from the available accounts. From Zeisberger's description of the frequency of the mother's absence, it would seem that, even if the child were nursed on demand when she was available, her frequent absences must have meant to the child that she was an
862 undependable provider. Children were weaned at the age of two or three; the techniques are not described.[5] Anal and
863 urethral training do not seem to have been strenuous: boys wore no clothes at all until
[291] the age of five or six, although girls wore aprons as soon as they could walk.[6]

861 Zeisberger noted that children were
155 sometimes harshly treated, although such behavior generally produced in them "bitterness, hatred and contempt." He went on to say, "The women are frequently guilty of thus raising their children to anger, for the women are often ill-tempered. By way of punishment, they will pour water on the children or thrust them into the water."[7] Zeisberger did not like the
[157 Indian women, whom he described also
181] as being "much given to lying and gossiping. They carry evil report from house to house. As long as they are observed they appear modest and without guile. All the wrongs of which they are guilty are done
114 in secret."[8] While one may be inclined to
797 discount Zeisberger's accusations on the grounds of the natural prejudice of a male missionary among somewhat more aggressive women than he was probably accustomed to at home, the general accuracy of his observations and the fact that he was really fond of his charges, with whom he spent much of his active life, suggest that he had imbibed the prevalent native male attitude toward the women of the tribe.

5. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 80.
6. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 17.
7. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 81.
8. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 124.

[P.36,A]

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[P. 36, B]

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[P. 37, A]

562 fulness, in comparison with the men, may
157 have been owing to the fact that they were much more restricted in childhood than their brothers. Nowhere in Delaware society was there the model of anyone
592 with coercive authority; neither mother nor
622 father ruled the roost at home in an
625 authoritarian sense, the sachems had no power to enforce their wishes, and there was no conception of a state with police
586 powers. Divorce was easy and frequent and could be initiated by either party simply leaving the other.[36] Supernatural
776 beings were not Jehovah-like Gods who regularly punished the wicked and rewarded the good; the Delaware reckoned rather with a supernatural guardian spirit who acted as a comrade and friend who would assist his mortal protege in critical passes. Shame and pride are more frequent themes than guilt and self-righteousness;
577 Speck (referring to twentieth-century Oklahoma Delawares) says, "Spiritual purity . . . is not conditioned by ethical conduct, but rather . . . through the observance of taboo regulations prescribed by ancient rulings."[37]

155 It would seem to be a fair inference that
597 the Delaware often did not develop a strong authoritarian, coercive conscience; moral values (which certainly were recognized) did not possess an awesome, mosaic character; "good" and "bad" had a light affective tone.

114 Zeisberger, who as a Moravian believed
626 in less discipline and autocracy than was fashionable in eighteenth century Europe, was still puzzled as to how a society without authority could hold together. "Judged by the mere appearance of the Indians," he wrote, "one is surprised how modest and careful they are in relation to each other and imagines that the whites, if they were as free a people and had neither government nor punishment to fear, would not
626 be as united and peaceable as the Indians appear to be."[38] This superficial smooth-

36. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 154; Zeisberger, 1778, pp. 20-21.
37. Speck, 1931, p. 51.
38. Zeisberger, 1778, p. 122

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[p53(B)]

773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

Indian Persistency

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

797
115

John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[p 53(c)]

157 herd and gave him a chase. He followed
224 until the buffalo was about tired out, with
521 his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horses so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

Delaware Baptist Mission School[86]

872 This school, under the supervision of Rev.
797 John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(c)--Analyst]